

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 IO-13 JUSE-00 NSAE-00

SNM-02 TRSE-00 USIA-06 NSC-05 OES-06 OMB-01 SS-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1592

INFO AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

DEA HQS WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LIMA 7879

S/NM FOR AMBASSADOR VANCE

SAO PAULO FOR AMBASSADOR DEAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SNAR, PE

SUBJ: GOP INTEREST IN MAJOR EFFORT TO CONTROL COCA
CULTIVATION

REF: STATE 210211, LIMA 7783

SUMMARY: TEAM HEADED BY LOUIS FIELDS OF L VISITED LIMA
AUGUST 26-28 FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY PERUVIAN OFFICIALS
CONCERNING PERUVIAN PROPOSAL FOR A MAJOR GOP-U.S. EFFORT TO
CONTROL AND REDUCE COCA PRODUCTION. FIELDS AND EMBASSY ARE
ENCOURAGED BY THESE DISCUSSIONS. WE BELIEVE THERE IS NOW
GOP HIGH-LEVEL SUPPORT FOR AN EFFORT TO CONTROL AND REDUCE
COCA PRODUCTION. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT GOP FOR THE FIRST
TIME PERCEIVES ITS INTERESTS INVOLVED IN THE COCA/COCAINE
PROBLEM BECAUSE IT SEES A LINK BETWEEN COCAINE TRAFFICKERS
AND INTERNAL SUBVERSION. TEXT OF PERUVIAN PROPOSAL IS AT END
OF THIS MESSAGE. IT IS A STARTING POINT TO WHICH WE INVITE
THE EARLIEST WASHINGTON ATTENTION. END SUMMARY.

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1. U.S. TEAM HEADED BY LOUIS G. FIELDS, JR., ASSISTANT
LEGAL ADVISOR FOR SPECIAL FUNCTION PROBLEMS, VISITED LIMA
AUGUST 26-28. FIELDS WAS ACCOMPANIED BY KURT MULLENBERG,
CHIEF, NARCOTICS SECTION, CRIMINAL DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF

JUSTICE, AND BY ROBERT F. MCDERMOTT, JR., ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEY
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

2. PURPOSE OF FIELDS' VISIT WAS TO EXPLORE WITH KEY PERUVIAN
OFFICIALS THE PROPOSAL OF ATTORNEY GENERAL NELSON DIAZ POMAR,
MADE PREVIOUSLY IN WASHINGTON, THAT GOP EMBARK WITH U.S. ASSIS-
TANCE ON A BROAD PROGRAM TO CONTROL AND REDUCE COCA GROWING IN
PERU. KEY QUESTION WAS WHETHER THERE IS SUFFICIENT HIGH-LEVEL
PERUVIAN POLITICAL SUPPORT TO MAKE SUCH AN EFFORT POSSIBLE.

3. AS WASHINGTON IS AWARE, FORMER PRESIDENT VELASCO AND
FORMER PRIME MINISTER FERNANDEZ MALDONADO CONSIDERED COCA
PRODUCTION, TRAFFICKING AND USE "A GRINGO PROBLEM" NOT AFFECTING
PERUVIAN INTERESTS AND FOR WHICH PERU BORE NO RESPONSIBILITY.
WE UNDERSTAND THAT SOME FORMER MINISTERS OF AGRICULTURE SAW
COCA PRODUCTION BY CAMPESINOS AS A WAY IN WHICH RURAL PEOPLE
COULD EARN A LIVING AND THUS AT LEAST NOT FURTHER COMPLICATE
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. IN VIEW OF THE ATTRACTIONS OF
COCA GROWING AS CONTRASTED WITH PROBLEMS OF GROWING, TRANS-
PORTING, STORING AND SELLING OTHER CROPS, THE GOP PREVIOUSLY
GAVE NO PRIORITY TO DISCOURAGING COCA PRODUCTION OR SUBSTITU-
TION OF OTHER CROPS. EVEN THOUGH SUCCESSIVE MINISTERS OF THE
INTERIOR AND PERU'S POLICE AGENCIES COOPERATED FULLY WITH U.S.
(DEA) IN ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS AGAINST ILLEGAL COCAINE TRAF-
FICKING, EVEN THOUGH PERU HAS INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS TO
REDUCE AND ELIMINATE COCA PRODUCTION, AND DESPITE FACT THAT
PERU HAS LAWS ON THE BOOKS TO THAT END, THERE HAS BEEN NO
GOP-WIDE WILL TO ELIMINATE PRIMARY SOURCE OF ILLEGAL COCAINE.
THIS LACK OF GOP WILL TO REDUCE OR ELIMINATE ILLEGAL COCA
PRODUCTION PERSISTED DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF THE AMBASSADOR,
DEA AGENTS HERE, EMBASSY OFFICERS AND HIGH-LEVEL VISITORS FROM
WASHINGTON. THIS WAS THE BACKGROUND WHEN DIAZ POMAR MADE HIS
PROPOSAL IN WASHINGTON, INDICATING THAT HE HAD BACKING OF NEW
PRIME MINISTER, GENERAL GUILLERMO ARBULU GALLIANI, AND OF
PRESIDENT FRANCISCO MORALES BERMUDEZ HIMSELF.

4. ONCE BACK IN LIMA, DIAZ POMAR ARRANGED AN INTENSIVE
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SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS AND SOCIAL GATHERINGS OVER THREE DAYS IN
WHICH FIELDS, CHARGE, MULLENBERG, MCDERMOTT AND ASAIC MICHAEL
GARLAND MET WITH KEY PERUVIAN OFFICIALS WHO
WOULD BE INVOLVED IN A BROAD PROGRAM
TO REDUCE COCA PRODUCTION AND TO INTENSIFY JUDICIAL AND POLICE
COOPERATION AGAINST COCAINE TRAFFICKING. THIS SCHEDULE INCLUDED
VISITS TO OFFICE OF ATTORNEY GENERAL DIAZ POMAR AND OFFICE OF
THE PRIME MINISTER, LUNCH WITH ANOTHER ATTORNEY GENERAL, A CALL
AT DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF THE GUARDIA CIVIL (UNIFORMED NATIONAL
POLICE), A MEETING WITH JUDGES AND OTHER JUDICIAL OFFICIALS OF
THE LIMA DISTRICT, DINNER WITH THE PRESIDENT OF PERUVIAN SUPREME
COURT, A MEETING WITH DIRECTOR OF THE (MILITARY) NATIONAL
INTELLIGENCE SERVICE AND FURTHER TALKS WITH HIM AT A SUBSEQUENT

SOCIAL GATHERING, A CALL ON VICE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND HIS STAFF, LUNCH WITH THE SUB-DIRECTOR OF GUARDIA CIVIL, A MEETING WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND OTHER OFFICIALS, AND A DISCUSSION WITH THE SUB-DIRECTOR OF PERUVIAN INVESTIGATIONS POLICE (PIP) WHICH HAS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENFORCING NARCOTICS LAWS HERE. (PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ AND HIS CABINET WERE AWAY FROM LIMA ON A TOUR OF THE SOUTH OF THE COUNTRY.)

5. TWO OF THESE MEETINGS WERE ESSENTIAL TO GAUGE THE COMMITMENT OF THE GOP FINALLY TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE INCREASING ILLEGAL PRODUCTION OF COCA. THE FIRST WAS WITH THE HEAD OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRIVATE OFFICE, GENERAL LUIS VASQUEZ DUCLOS. HE RELAYED THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT THE REDUCTION AND ELIMINATION OF ILLEGAL COCA GROWING. HE SAID PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ IS SIMILARLY COMMITTED. THE SECOND SUCH VISIT WAS TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, GENERAL JUAN SCHROTH CARLIN. THIS POSITION IS OBVIOUSLY A SENSITIVE ONE AND ITS OCCUPANT IS CLOSE TO MORALES BERMUDEZ. SCHROTH SAID MORALES BERMUDEZ WANTS ILLEGAL COCA GROWING STOPPED.

6. SCHROTH INDICATED THAT HIGH-LEVEL PERUVIAN INTEREST IS DIRECTED TOWARD THE NARCOTICS-TRAFFICKING PROBLEM BECAUSE OF A NEWLY-DISCOVERED LINK WITH SUBVERSION. THE GOP HAD RECENTLY BROKEN UP A GANG OF TRAFFICKERS IN LIMA. THE GOVERNMENT HAD DISCOVERED THAT NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING WAS MERELY A MEANS TO FINANCE THE GANG'S PRIMARY PURPOSE, WHICH WAS TO MOUNT AN URBAN CONFIDENTIAL

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TERRORIST/GUERRILLA OPERATION. SCHROTH DISPLAYED PHOTOS OF THE GANG'S EQUIPMENT, WHICH INCLUDED AUTOMATIC WEAPONS AND SMALL ARMS, EXPLOSIVES AND AMMUNITION. THE INCIPIENT ORGANIZATION HAD SEVERAL CARS, AN OFFICE IN LIMA AND A FARM USED AS A TRAINING GROUND IN THE LIMA SUBURBS. THE OPERATION WAS OBVIOUSLY WELL FINANCED FROM THE PROCEEDS OF COCAINE TRAFFICKING. SCHROTH NOW HAD HIS ORDERS TO GIVE PRIORITY TO THE TRAFFICKING/SUBVERSION PROBLEM.

7. CHARGE SUBSEQUENTLY SPOKE PRIVATELY WITH SCHROTH. SCHROTH MAINTAINED THAT THE GOP HAS CONSIDERED THE ECONOMIC/SOCIAL AND THEREFORE POLITICAL/SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF A MOVE TO STOP COCA PRODUCTION. HE SAID CAMPESINOS WOULD NEED CREDIT AND TRAINING IN GROWING OTHER CROPS. HOWEVER, THE GOP IS DETERMINED TO MOVE AHEAD.

8. PER AMBASSADOR DEAN'S SUGGESTION, CHARGE ALSO MET AUGUST 31 TO DISCUSS THE COCA-ERADICATION PROPOSAL WITH FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER AND NOW ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF PEDRO RICHTER PRADA. RICHTER RECOGNIZED SOME OF HIS OWN IDEAS IN THE PROPOSAL, SUPPORTED IT, AND CONFIRMED THAT MORALES BERMUDEZ DOES ALSO. RICHTER OBSERVED THAT THERE MUST BE MORE EMPHASIS

ON INCOME/CROP SUBSTITUTION. HE IS LUNCHING SEPTEMBER 1 WITH MORALES BERMUDEZ AND WILL DISCUSS THE PLAN WITH HIM.

9. AS TO HOW TO ORGANIZE A GOP-WIDE EFFORT AGAINST COCA AND COCAINE, DIAZ POMAR'S ORIGINAL IDEA HAD BEEN TO ESTABLISH A SMALL COORDINATING GROUP IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER. IN THE COURSE OF CONVERSATIONS HERE, HOWEVER, THE POSSIBILITY EMERGED OF A COORDINATING GROUP IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT. DIAZ POMAR IS PREPARING A DECISION MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT

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P R 011515Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1593

INFO AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

DEA HQS WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LIMA 7879

MORALES BERMUDEZ TO ESTABLISH A COORDINATING GROUP AT A LEVEL CHOSEN BY THE PRESIDENT.

10. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT DIAZ POMAR INTENDS TO PLAY A KEY ROLE IN A GOP-USG EFFORT TO REDUCE AND ELIMINATE ILLEGAL COCA PRODUCTION. WASHINGTON SHOULD THEREFORE KNOW THAT DIAZ POMAR HAS A NUMBER OF DETRACTORS WITHIN THE GOP. WE HAVE HEARD HIM CALLED "OPPORTUNISTIC" AND "NOT WELL REGARDED," IT IS CERTAINLY TRUE THAT HE OPERATES BUREAUCRATICALLY IN A WAY NEW TO OUR EXPERIENCE IN PERU. HE IS WELL CONNECTED AT THE UPPER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND HE AGGRESSIVELY (AND POSSIBLY ABRASIVELY) EXPLOITS HIS CONNECTIONS TO MOVE FORWARD. THIS MANNER OF OPERATION ENGENDERS SOME OPPOSITION AND PROBABLY JEALOUSY. WE HOPE, BUT CANNOT BE SURE, THAT DIAZ POMAR WILL CONTINUE TO BE ABLE TO PUSH THE GOP FORWARD TOWARD GOALS SOUGHT BY THE U.S. AND THAT HE DOES NOT BECOME A NET LIABILITY BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION TO HIS MANNER OF DEALING WITH OTHERS WHO HAVE POWER AND PATRONS OF THEIR OWN.

11. A SECOND CAVEAT REGARDING THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EFFECTIVE COCA REDUCTION SUBSTITUTION PROGRAM HERE IS IN ORDER FOR THOSE UNFAMILIAR WITH PERUVIAN AFFAIRS. THE GOP IS SLOW TO REACH

DECISIONS AND IMPLEMENT THEM. IT SOMETIMES ANNOUNCES DECISIONS
OR POLICIES IN WHAT WE BELIEVE IS GOOD FAITH BUT IS UNABLE
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TO ACTUALLY CARRY THEM OUT. ON PAST FORM, EVEN WITH COMMITMENTS
FROM THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER, A COCA-REDUCTION PROGRAM
IS GOING TO GO SLOWLY IF IT KEEPS MOVING AT ALL.

12. IN RESPONSE TO THE REMAINING SPECIFIC QUESTION IN STATE
210211, THE PLANNING DOCUMENT TO WHICH DIAZ POMAR REFERRED IN
WASHINGTON IS ONE FOR "PLAN COCAL", A PIP INITIATIVE TO ELIM-
INATE UNAUTHORIZED COCA PLANTINGS. THIS PLAN WAS HEAVY ON
ENFORCEMENT AND LIGHT ON CROP/INCOME SUBSTITUTION. WE DESCRIBED
IT IN LIMA 10073 AND 10233 OF DEC 5 AND 11, 1975. THE PLAN
GOT AS HIGH IN THE GOP AS THE DESK OF THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR,
WHERE VESTED BUREAUCRATIC INTERESTS ARRESTED ITS PROGRESS. THE
PROPOSAL DIAZ POMAR JUST PRESENTED DRAWS HEAVILY ON PLAN COCAL.

13. WASHINGTON WILL NOTICE THAT ONE FACET OF THE PLAN DIAZ
POMAR PRESENTED CALLS FOR TRAINING OF PERUVIAN JUDICIAL PER-
SONNEL IN THE U.S. ONE PURPOSE OF THE VISITS OF MULLENBERG AND
MCDERMOTT WAS TO MEET WITH PERUVIAN JUDICIAL PERSONNEL, IN-
CLUDING JUDGES, TO EXAMINE U.S. AND PERUVIAN JUDICIAL PROCEDURES
WITH A VIEW TO POSSIBLE FURTHER COOPERATION. FIELDS, MULLEN-
BERG AND MCDERMOTT HELD TWO FORMAL MEETINGS AND OTHER INFORMAL
CONVERSATIONS WITH JUDICIAL PERSONNEL HERE. THE EMBASSY
BELIEVES THESE CONTACTS WERE MOST USEFUL, AND SUGGESTS THAT
WASHINGTON MOVE AHEAD NOW TO ARRANGE TRAINING/ORIENTATION
VISITS FOR FOUR OR FIVE PERUVIANS AS A START.

14. THE TEXT OF THE PERUVIAN PROPOSAL FOLLOWS. IT IS IN
THE FORM OF MAIN POINTS OF A GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT.
THE EMBASSY NARCOTICS COORDINATING COMMITTEE WILL SUBMIT ITS
PRELIMINARY COMMENTS SOON. MEANWHILE, WE SUGGEST THAT
WASHINGTON BEGIN EXAMINING THE PROPOSAL.
QUOTE BASIS OF THE AGREEMENT TO BE APPROVED BETWEEN THE
GOVERNMENT OF PERU AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA.

A. THE COCA ISSUE

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA UNDERTAKE TO CARRY OUT THE FOLLOWING JOINTLY:

- A. TO REVIEW THE EXISTING STUDIES ON THE COCA ISSUE.
- B. TO DRAW UP A PLAN FOR ACTION.
- C. TO PREPARE AN ESTIMATE TO DETERMINE THE COST OF

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FINANCING THE PROJECT.

- D. TO CARRY OUT THE PROJECT.

3. THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU WILL PROVIDE THE PERSONNEL

REQUIRED TO CARRY OUT THE PROJECT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL PROVIDE THE NECESSARY ADVISERS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANTS, IN ADDITION TO THE RESPECTIVE EQUIPMENT AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

THE CONCLUSIONS SHOULD BE THE FOLLOWING:

- DESTRUCTION OF COCA FIELDS UNNECESSARY FOR LICIT USE.
- TO GROW COCA WITH HIGH FLAVOR BUT WITH SCANT COCAINE CONTENT ONLY, FOR USE OF COCA-CHEWING NATIVES.
- TO GROW COCA WITH A HIGH COCAINE CONTENT IN DULY CONTROLLED AREAS, FOR LICIT USES.
- TO REPLACE THOSE COCA FIELDS WHICH MUST BE DESTROYED WITH OTHER FOOD OR INDUSTRIAL CROPS, ACCORDING TO THE LAND AND THE WEATHER.
- TO IMPLEMENT AND CARRY OUT VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT MEASURES AGAINST DRUG TRAFFICKERS.
- TO EXERT PROPER CONTROL OVER THE PLANTING AND LEGAL MARKETING OF COCA LEAVES.
- TO CURB THE EXPANSION OF COCA PRODUCTION..

B. PERSONNEL TRAINING

TRAINING AND QUALIFICATION OF:

- PIP PERSONNEL (NON-UNIFORMED)
- POLICE PERSONNEL (UNIFORMED)
- STAFF OF THE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
- JUDICIAL PERSONNEL
- PRISON PERSONNEL

RESOURCES

PROVISION OF MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL RESOURCES FOR POLICE, JUDICIAL AND PRISON PERSONNEL IN CHARGE OF DRUG ENFORCEMENT.

C. LATIN AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEY GENERALS

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE REPUBLIC RESPONSIBLE FOR CURBING THE ILLICIT TRAFFIC OF NARCOTICS, DR. NELSON DIAZ POMAR, HAS TAKEN THE INITIATIVE TO ORGANIZE AN ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEY GENERALS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. THE MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE CITY OF LIMA, IN MID-OCTOBER, WITH THE FOLLOWING ENDS:

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- TO COORDINATE INTERNATIONAL DRUG ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.
 - TO STANDARDIZE DRUG ENFORCEMENT LEGISLATION.
 - TO COORDINATE EXTRADITIONS.
 - TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION AND EVIDENCE ON INTERNATIONAL TRAFFICKERS.
 - TO ENFORCE THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ON THE ILLICIT TRAFFIC OF NARCOTICS.
 - TO IMPROVE METHODS OF CONTROLLING DRUGS AND CURBING TRAFFICKERS.
- THE ASSOCIATION WILL HAVE A GENERAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT IN CHARGE OF CARRYING OUT THE AGGREEMENTS OF THE ATTORNEY GERNERALS.
- EVERY TWO YEARS, OR WHENEVER NECESSARY, A MEETING OF

AMERICAN ATTORNEY GENERALS WILL BE SUMMONED TO APPROVE THE PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

--THE GOVERNMENTS WILL CONTRIBUTE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS THE RESOURCES REQUIRED FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION, WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCY OF PUBLIC LAW, DULY ACCREDITED BY THE PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS.

THOSE INVITED TO THE FIRST MEETING WILL BE THE ATTORNEY GENERALS FROM: BOLIVIA, PERU, ECUADOR, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA, PANAMA, COSTA RICA, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR, MEXICO, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

THE EXPENSES CALLED FOR BY THE FIRST MEETING (TRANSPORTATION AND LODGING) WILL BE COVERED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU TO COVER THE COST OF ASSEMBLY HALLS, SECRETARIAL STAFF, ADVISERS, OFFICE EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES.

ONCE THE ASSOCIATION IS ESTABLISHED, ITS BUDGET WILL BE FINANCES WITH VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ALL THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES UNDERTAKING TO COVER AT LEAST 50 PERCENT OF THE EXPENSES. UNQUOTE.

SMITH

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